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AUTHOR Ferren, Ann S.
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ABSTRACT

This study examines the relationship between organizational demands and secondary school teachers' behavior. Teachers develop various techniques to compensate for the dictates of the organization; survival techniques are ways to tolerate the organization without leaving it. This study was carried out in two New England secondary schools in a community of 13,000. The data used for the project were the attitudes, perceptions, feelings, and behavior of individuals within the organization. Interviews, observations of behavior both within and outside of the classroom, and analysis of this information provided the means to examine group behavior. Four major areas of concern guided the research; they were a) organizational demands on the teacher, b) needs and role expectations of the teacher, c) conflict between member needs and organizational demands, and d) behavior patterns teachers utilize to adapt. At the conclusion of the study, data clearly indicated that teachers exhibit survival techniques in their daily work habits. The degree of adaptive behavior ranged widely. It is evident that schools must become places of creative contributions rather than places to survive. A 15-item bibliography is included. (MJM)

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TEACHER SURVIVAL BEHAVIORS WITHIN THE SCHOOL ORGANIZATION[1]

Ann S. Ferren

The American University

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What are our schools doing to our teachers? Popular literature has used such words as stress, conflict, dissatisfaction, and resistance to describe teacher reactions. Direct pleas from teachers themselves, such as Up the Down Staircase, How Children Fail, and Teaching as a Subversive Activity reveal the teachers' frustrations and anxieties related to "the system" and their role as a teacher.

Many teachers leave the profession. Most try to survive. What in teaching gives personal satisfaction, intellectual nourishment, and social fulfillment? On the other hand, what causes discouragement, feelings of mental stagnation, and antagonism toward students and colleagues? What is it about schools that is alienating? How do teachers, given their feelings, treat their work situations to maximize their own well-being? How do they resist or adapt to pressures of the organization which undermine their needs?

There is evidence to suggest that teachers settle into the school organization with far less enthusiasm and productivity than their background and potential would suggest.[2]

This study is an examination of how secondary school teachers in one

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[1] This paper is based on a dissertation submitted to The School of Education, Boston University, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Ed.D.

[2] Ronald G. Carwin, Staff Conflicts in the Public Schools (Columbus, Ohio: Department of Sociology and Anthropology, The Ohio State University, 1966).

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suburban school system feel about their work environment and tasks, and how they cope with these feelings. The focus is on the relationship between organizational demands (i.e., the circumstances of one's teaching) and teacher behavior. Teachers apparently survive in their organization with various techniques to compensate personally for what the organization dictates. It is these survival techniques -- these ways to tolerate the organization without leaving the organization -- which this research sought to detect and report.

Theorectical Rationale

To provide the theoretical framework for a study of teacher survival techniques, the considerable literature on teaching behavior and organizational behavior was examined. Emerging from the efforts to analyze teachers and teaching behavior, as each affects the learning process, is evidence that a teacher's personal characteristics as well as his behavior are affected by external factors.[3/] In fact, the literature suggests there is considerable conflict within the school organization as teachers respond to student, administrative, colleague, and personal expectations.[4/]

The extensive literature on formal organizations and human behavior provides a dynamic background for examining schools and teacher behavior.[5/] Bureaucratic structure, communication processes, role theory, goal pursuit,

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[3/] Harmon Zeigler, The Political World of the High School Teacher, (Eugene, Oregon: The Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration, 1966).

[4/] Howard S. Becker, "The Teacher in the Authority System of the Public School," in Complex Organizations: A Sociological Reader, ed. by Amatai Etzioni (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964), p. 243-251.

[5/] Fred D. Carver and Thomas J. Sergiovanni, eds., Organizations and Human Behavior: Focus on Schools (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1969). James G. March, ed., Handbook of Organizations (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1965).

maintenance patterns, and self-actualization needs are among the relevant dimensions that emerge. The most extensive and fertile area of research which reveals the effect of an organization on its members is in industrial organizations.

Chris Argyris has attempted a systematic synthesis of the research on individuals and organizations.[6] He has formulated an analytic framework -- a set of propositions -- to explain individual behavior within an organization as follows:

Human personality is a basic component of organizational behavior. Basic dimensions of a mature personality can be agreed upon (as drawn from the literature). Individuals seek independence, self-actualization, and control over their work world, for example. Similarly, the fundamental properties of the formal organization can be agreed upon, including, for example, a division of labor and a chain of command. By putting these two dimensions together it becomes clear that there is a "basic incongruence between the needs of a mature personality and the requirements of formal organizations."[7] As a result the individual finds himself in a situation of conflict where fulfilling his own needs frustrates fulfillment of formal organizational requirements. The greater the organization's needs for dependence, subordination, and passivity, the greater the frustration of workers. Consequently, the individual employs adaptive behaviors such as becoming less involved or blaming others for his failures. These adaptive behaviors help maintain the individual personality against the threatening

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[6] Chris Argyris, Personality and Organization: The Conflict Between System and the Individual (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957); Chris Argyris, Understanding Organizational Behavior (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, Inc., 1960).

[7] Argyris, Understanding Organizational Behavior, p. 16.

organization. Adaptive behavior has a cumulative effect, for management reacts and employs its own kind of adaptive behavior. The organization, for example, may even increase the antagonistic forces (such as control) underlying the individual dissatisfaction and adaptive behavior.

By use of this systematic analysis Argyris brings together a great deal of behavioral science research and suggests the application of such an analysis to other possible research areas. What can the analysis offer when applied to public schools?

Clearly the analysis does not fit the schools perfectly. An examination of the public school suggests some peculiar characteristics which complicate Argyris' analytic framework. There are enough similarities, however, to suggest that the relationship between the teacher and his work environment is ambiguous and pressure laden; it can be expected, therefore, that adaptive behavior will result.

With this theoretical background in mind the following hypotheses were generated:

1. Teachers exhibit adaptive behaviors or survival techniques in their daily work habits.

2. Teacher adaptive behaviors may be categorized and coincide in classification with those adaptive behaviors reported in industrial research, namely:[8/]

   a. climbing the organizational ladder

   b. manifesting defense reactions such as projection, aggression

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[8/] Argyris, Personality and Organization, p. 235.

c. becoming apathetic and disinterested toward the organization and its goals

d. creating informal groups to sanction the defense reactions and apathy

e. formalizing the informal groups, for example, forming a union

f. evolving group norms to perpetuate adaptive behavior

g. evolving a psychological set that human factors become increasingly unimportant and material factors become increasingly important

3. These teacher adaptive behaviors result from perceived incongruence of their needs with organizational demands.

   a. Organizational demands, while perceived differently by each member of the organization, are viewed in general as threats to individual independence.

   b. Perceived incongruence tends to cluster around the decision-making processes of the organization.

The rest of this paper will examine the methodology employed, report the essential findings. and analyze the implications of the behaviors observed and reported.

Research Methodology

The study was carried out from January 1967 to March 1969 in two secondary schools (an Intermediate School and a High School) in a small, conservative, middle class community of 13,000, thirty-five miles from a

large New England city. Elements of the formal organizations were essentially the same for the two schools; the informal organizations were very different. It was, therefore, possible to observe phenomena in two different organizational settings and to explore the unique relationships between the organizational dimensions and teacher behaviors.

The data for this research project were the attitudes, feelings, perceptions, and behaviors of individuals within the organizations. Utilizing techniques proved in anthropological research, an exploratory field study was designed. The field study -- combining interviewing, observation, and analysis of written materials -- has provided most of what we know about organizations. This methodology allows first hand examination of behavior in groups as it naturally occurs and is appropriate for this study of teacher survival techniques as they occur in the school organization. Models, schedules, and research questions were generated to provide organization and coherence in the data gathering.

While at the outset of the study the research design was conceived as merely a means to an end, it became clear as the research progressed that some of the data on survival techniques was directly related to the researcher's role. The study was designed to allow for the maximum possibility of "discovery". It was assumed that an exploratory study would make it possible to enter into the life of the organizations with a minimum of preconceptions. It seemed that the real life of the organizations unfolded to the researcher in much the same way it would for a new teacher coming into the organizations. The process of socialization, however, inevitably affected the researcher. Perhaps the most unexpected "discovery" was to find the researcher herself had become a "member" of the organizations. More noteworthy, the researcher became a major survival technique

for many of the teachers.

Role of the Researcher

Initial entry into the organizations was at the invitation of the school board and the superintendent of the system. The researcher's role was as a member of a five man consultant survey team. After the survey report was issued the researcher's relationship to the organizations changed to one of a student in a university based seminar interested in implementation of the report and curriculum. This role served as a research blind and made little explanation necessary for being in the organizations over an extended period of time. Since the seminar was designed to be of help to teachers, and since the obvious teacher-student relationship is a natural one for offering information and gathering data, a beneficial reciprocal relationship was established.

The researcher's complete purpose in the organizations was undisclosed throughout the study. Initially, the researcher feared her presence would be noticed and questioned. The researcher's general procedures thus reflected a concern that she fit in, not press too hard, and not reveal the exact nature of her interests. At no time, as it turned out, did disclosure become a real likelihood. Teachers were eager to talk about their work situation to anyone who would listen. The researcher tried consistently to play the role of a student, eager to learn, not very adept, not very shrewd at reading between the lines, naive about how schools function, and not very much in touch with others. Teachers took great pains to educate the researcher to be sure the "facts of life" about schools were understood.

At times the researcher felt her success at being non-threatening to the members of the organizations was a threat to herself. She would spend

a whole day being totally receptive, reflective, concerned, interested, and naive. This role, while appropriate to the research, conflicted with the researcher's personal needs. The researcher's receptivity appeared to condone what was observed, yet her own professional standards made the researcher want to declare herself unrelated to and not responsible for some of the educational practices witnessed. The burden of membership and the norms and values that must consequently be accepted has been a problem for other researchers.[9/] Maintaining one's research role is obviously a problem confronted by anyone doing sustained research.

By some members of the organization the researcher was not only accepted but needed and sought. The researcher did, without meaning to, become a major survival technique for members of the organizations. It is not clear whether others realized how much they talked to the researcher, joked with the researcher, or looked forward to seeing the researcher, but one guidance counselor noted the role saying, "You know how to talk to teachers, sort of help them get their frustrations out." This study could be criticized for limiting its viewpoint to that of teachers, but that was the researcher's aim -- to make clear how teachers perceive and behave in organizations. Thus the researcher welcomed being accepted.

The researcher's emergent role is not only relevant to understanding the subjects but also has direct bearing on the research and the researcher's ability to conduct the study. First, the researcher's role as perceived by others was determinitive of the kinds of data the researcher had access to and the kinds of things people said to her. Thus, the researcher tried to note these perceptions as data, too. Second, the researcher became involved

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9/William F. Whyte, Street Corner Society (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943).

in and cared about what went on in the schools in this time period. As members expressed concern about her, the researcher found she really cared about the members, too. It would seem absurd, therefore, to claim no subjective bias. It is, in fact, because of the involvement and sensitivity to these people that the study was possible. Because of the researcher's identification with them the researcher could understand and record many of the internal and external pressures on the members of the organizations.

Interviews

The semi-structured interview seemed most suited to the purposes of this research. Much of the spontaneous survival behavior studied is unconscious, on the feeling level, unrecognized, and thus not easily tapped simply by asking a direct question. With the semi-structured approach questioning could be suggestive and flexible. Ninety-two formal interviews about fifty minutes in length were conducted. It was assumed that some interviews would prove to be more fruitful than others, and the study was designed to utilize these respondents freely. Informal interviews, therefore, took place throughout the study and were of varying length.

The aim of the interviews was to get at the pressures, ambiguities, and conflict which individual teachers felt. The discrepancies in perceptions between individuals and discrepancies between reported feelings and observed behavior were thought to be clues to the conflict areas and provided a basis for further exploration and observation of adaptive behavior.

At the outset of the study the researcher had feared that it would be difficult to get teachers to talk comfortably and revealingly and whatever data gathered would be sketchy and difficult to come by. The researcher had considerably underestimated how much teachers need someone to talk to.

The teachers, in fact, talked too much to the point of embarrassing the researcher with details of their home life.

Participant Observation

The unstructured observation technique was particularly suited to the purposes of this study since the researcher's aim was to discover phenomena she suspected existed rather than to test something already known about. The researcher watched the members of the school organizations to see what situations they ordinarily met and how they behaved in them. Talking with the participants after the events helped the researcher discover their interpretations of the events and the motivations for their behaviors. This technique, though time consuming, had two compelling advantages: 1) it gave direct knowledge of phenomena and 2) it maximized the possibility of coming upon unexpected data.

Observations in this study were limited to activities of teachers during the school day and on school premises. Trying to see, register, interpret, and conceptualize social facts and their meanings is difficult. Certain procedures and guidelines reduced the problems. Eighty full period classroom observations were made. An observation schedule for the classroom was developed to insure some consistency. In addition, a narrative account of each class was recorded. Selection and definition of problems and explanatory concepts took place continuously as data were analyzed in the field. The process of change and decision making on the part of the researcher were recorded along with the data so that insights were not lost over time.

Spending considerable time in the field in an unplanned way, such as having coffee, made it possible for members of the organizations to initiate

interaction with the researcher. Observing the same subjects in different environments such as classroom and faculty meeting and lunchroom was designed to give the researcher insight into what part of behavior is member determined and what part is organizationally or environmentally determined. All problems encountered by the researcher, possible sources of error or distortion throughout the study were noted in addition to the observation in order to help objectivity and interpretation of the data at the later stages of analysis.

Treatment of the Data

The data of the study were recorded at the same time of the interviews and observations. To make the data manageable, methods of recording and sorting were established. All recording tried to designate facts, assumptions, interpretations, signs of distortion, personal values of the observer, interruptions and other important circumstances. As soon as practicable following an interview or day's observations the data were reviewed for additional impressions not recordable on the spot.

At the end of the field study the data were scanned for focal points, key incidents, patterns, and themes which might have been overlooked during the provisional analysis which took place as the study progressed. The written notes were duplicated and one set was kept intact to preserve the continuity of the research. The other set was cut up and sorted and resorted by catagories including properties, incidents, research questions, member needs, organizational demands, conflicts, adaptive behavior, and explanatory themes. Numerous overlapping categories were generated in an effort to find the most coherent grouping of data. Each fact was thus examined in several contexts. No single member was considered as representative of all member behavior. Generalizations and conclusions drawn from

the data relied on similarities and repetition.

Because of the nature of the study there is little statistical data to report. There can be no accurate count of how many teachers engaged in a particular behavior or how many times a teacher used survival behaviors. The burden of proof that survival behaviors are a significant part of a classroom teacher's activity rests, therefore, not on the statistical but the anecdotal reporting of behaviors. The limitations of this type of research should be noted to provide perspective for interpreting the findings.

The Findings

Four major research questions guided the research, and the general findings can be listed and discussed accordingly.

What are the Organizational Demands on Teachers?

The Intermediate School was a relaxed and informal organization. Teachers were expected to depend on themselves and on informal procedures for student discipline, curriculum planning, communication, and decision-making. The principal mad few demands of the teachers and they in turn were expected to make few demands.

In contrast, the High School was a highly structured organization dominated by the principal. There was strict control of communication and decision-making along heirarchical lines. Teachers were required to follow the established curriculum, file daily planbooks, write monthly reports, and were restricted even in matters of personal behavior and appearance.

Member perceptions of organizational demands and how the demands were felt varied and appeared to be related to the teachers' positions in the

organization. The more central teachers, those "in the know", high in seniority, or involved in teaching key academic subjects felt more freedom than those teachers in peripheral positions in the organizations.

What are the Needs and Role Expectations of Classroom Teachers in the School Organization?

The members of the organizations had discernible expectations based on personal need, professional preparation, past experience, and actual functioning in the organizations. The overwhelming majority of the staff viewed themselves as conservative, conformist, and traditional.

Member expectations centered around a basic role orientation, that is, whether the teacher saw himself as an educator with considerable freedom to express himself or whether he saw himself as a functionary of the system and essentially interchangeable with all other teachers.

In general, the members of the Intermediate School expected guidance and support from administrators while the members of the High School expected understanding and freedom from administrators. The members of both organizations expected friendship from colleagues and interest and cooperation from students. Thus there was little difference between the basic expectations of the two groups of teachers. The few differences such as an emphasis on classroom autonomy in the High School and an emphasis on administrative support in the Intermediate School appeared to be more work-determined than person-determined.

What are the Areas of Conflict Between Member Needs and Organization Demands?

During the course of the study it was apparent that the organization demands and member needs were not always congruent. The resulting conflict was expressed by teachers and often observable. Conflict resulted: 1) when

a teacher found he was unable to fulfill his own expectations such as maintaining classroom control; and 2) when others failed to fulfill a teacher's expectations such as failure of the administration to provide the desired teaching materials.

Conflict situations occurred during the daily functioning of the organizations. The members of the Intermediate School experienced conflict over grouping of students, assignment of level of classes, provision of substitutes, interpersonal relations with the principal, use of personnel, availability of administrative support for student discipline, materials requests, and feelings of inadequacy in meeting student needs. The members of the High School experienced conflict over the goals of the school, required curriculum, capacity to affect decisions, communication with other teachers, inequities in the budget, assignment of course loads, and administrative failure to recognize teachers as individuals.

It had been hypothesized that most conflict would center around decision making. This, in fact, was not the only focal point of incongruence. Many conflicts were related to the demands of the classroom. Relations with students were at the same time frustrating and satisfying. At the outset of the study the researcher had wondered, "What causes discouragement, feelings of mental stagnation, and antagonism toward students and colleagues?" It seemed that just about everything concerned them, although the fundamental complaint in the Intermediate School seemed to be the feeling that no one, not the principal, not colleagues, not students, and sometimes not even they themselves cared about what they did. In the High School, the fundamental concern was the lack of freedom -- rules, regulations, assignments interfered with personal fulfillment and made teachers feel repressed and inhibited. The younger teachers in particular found the High School organization rigid,

overly traditional in its outlook, slow to change, unresponsive to individual interests and largely irrelevant to the needs of students and teachers. The differences between organizations appeared to be related to the fact that each school was administered as a reflection of the principals' own personal needs and their perceptions of teacher needs.

At some point in the course of the study the researcher began to wonder: Are all teachers subject to alienation? Is no teacher immune to the conflict between organizational demands and personal needs? As the evidence of conflict began to accumulate, the answer became "apparently not". It was apparent, however, that some teachers could handle conflict more easily than others.

What are the Behaviors Teachers Utilize to Adapt to Incongruence and Reduce Conflict?

All teachers were observed or reported using adaptive behaviors. Not all teachers used all adaptive behaviors; rather each teacher had a personalized set of survival behaviors. The adaptive behaviors or survival techniques coincided in classification with those reported in industrial research.

Teachers utilized adaptive behaviors in all categories though the distribution throughout the categories was not even. Climbing the organizational ladder was perhaps the most obvious of the adaptive behaviors. Teachers considered such career objectives respectable and thus did not hide their interests and behaviors related to "moving up". This took the form of seeking to move to a higher grade level, looking for administrative openings, and undertaking graduate work. There were several teachers who initially sought a teaching career, found that power resided at the administrative level, became frustrated with the ranks and decided "if you can't beat 'em join 'em." Climbing the organizational ladder appeared to be strictly a

male adaptive behavior. Not one female indicated any interest in moving up in the organization. This behavior was utilized more by Intermediate School teachers than High School teachers.

Manifesting defense reactions and becoming apathetic were the most frequently employed adaptive behaviors. The defense reactions expressed by teachers were numerous, obvious, and to some degree recognized by the teachers, themselves. They included yelling, joking, belittling, aggression, projection, and submission.

To fight back against student behavior that bothered them teachers routinely used belittling comments such as, "Do it now! -- You on vacation or something." For many teachers, intimidating, belittling, humiliating wisecracks characterized their relationship with their students. The whole level of give and take was aggressive with each side trying to score on the other. Teachers would bait and tease the students and then yell at them to "settle down" when they got a rise out of them. Classes began with the teacher throwing down the verbal gauntlet such as, "Talk, talk, talk. That always gives me the idea you don't have anything to do." Class discipline was held by intimidation -- a level of controlled resentment was created each day. The teacher's tone of voice was challenging and the class activity was punctuated with overt challenges such as, "You want to talk about that outside?"

Belittling and joking was not limited to teachers dealing with students. Teachers also relied on this method of releasing their tension over problems with the administration. Much of the "griping" teachers did was projective in nature, that is their frustrations were blamed on external conditions. They blamed other teachers, family responsibilities, low ability students, lack of time, lack of respect for the teacher role, and failure of the

elementary school.

For several teachers the strain of active involvement in the organization was too much and to survive they became apathetic. One teacher put it, "I know I'm not as outspoken on issues as I used to be but I'm running down. I'm getting tired of fighting." At some time or another almost every teacher was observed utilizing avoidance of the administration in order to protect himself from the organizational demands. A few teachers found it necessary to get distance from their colleagues too. They reported seeking no friends on the faculty or being so busy they couldn't go to meetings or stay in touch.

Every teacher was observed achieving distance from his students. Teachers limited their personal involvement with students to the bare minimum of giving directions and disassociated themselves from an active teaching role. They were unavailable for after-class conferences. They favored work sheets and written assignments in class and limited interaction between teacher and student.

One way of reducing the burden of stress appeared to be by sharing it with others; thus teachers formed informal groups. Teachers sought and found others who shared their concerns and perhaps by being together generated common views. The informal groups not only reduced tension created by organizational demands but also appeared to provide satisfactions not found in the formal organization. Teachers sat together at faculty meetings for example, to amuse each other with a running commentary of wisecracks. A first year teacher reported, "I live alone and that's not too satisfying. I need someone to talk to."

Formalizing the informal groups, a behavior prevalent in industrial

organizations, did not appear to a measurable extent. In fact, only one instance of formalizing an informal group occurred. Several older teachers in the High School became concerned about student behavior and pushed for official recognition as a reviewing board. They operated as a faculty committee for one semester.

The norms of an organization are often subtle but maintained as strongly as the stated rules and expectations. In the organizations studied a number of norms grew out of group relations and in general these norms lightened the teaching load and reduced teacher guilt feelings. These norms included, for example, throwing away homework rather than grading it, using grades and quizzes as disciplinary measures, and limiting expectations for slow students. In several instances teachers clearly resented the fact that they could not influence each other as much as they would like and they mentioned specific cases when teachers broke the "unwritten rules." They complained for example, that one teacher's informality ruined discipline in other classes.

As organization members find the rewards of the organization less satisfying they tend to substitute monetary rewards for human rewards. This survival behavior occurred in both schools. There was clear evidence that teachers focused on the materials of the organizational experience and not just on the human relations. They showed unusual concern for unclaimed books, unbudgeted funds, and physical space allocation. For many, teaching was just a financial arrangement. As one teacher said, "I pick up my paycheck, go home and drink my beer, and forget my frustrations." How this adaptive behavior of the teachers related to the stress they felt is not altogether clear. It can be said, however, that teachers did not focus on the human factors of teaching alone.

Many teachers, though not all, were aware of their efforts to adapt to organizational conflict.

Acceptance or Rejection of Hypotheses

There were three hypotheses formulated at the outset of the study. The first two are confirmed by the research and on that basis can be accepted. For the first hypothesis the data clearly revealed that teachers exhibit survival techniques in their daily work habits. No teacher was devoid of some adaptive behavior caused by his functioning in the organization. The degree to which these behaviors occurred was striking and ranged from teachers who devoted most of their time to "surviving" in the organization to those who showed only mild adjustment to organization demands.

The second hypothesis was confirmed as the adaptive behaviors could be classified in the same categories as in industry. The distribution throughout the categories was by no means equal. Nor did all teachers use every category. But all categories of survival behavior used in industry did appear in the school organization. There were no survival behaviors that occurred in one school and not in the other. And what is more important, no new behaviors peculiar to the school organization appeared. It appears, then, that adaptive behaviors are not unique to industrial organizations and appear in much the same form in the school organization.

The third hypothesis appears to be only partially true and, therefore, is rejected. Teacher adaptive behaviors did result from perceived incongruence of their needs with organizational demands. But there was considerable evidence that conflict did not result from threats to individual independence. There were many teachers who did not feel it necessary to

have complete independence. Furthermore, it had been hypothesized that incongruence would cluster around the decision-making process. While many teachers did express concern about how decisions were made and resented having little part in the decision-making processes, it was not decision-making alone but the whole tone of the organization and the communication about decisions which determined their feelings. It appears that the hypothesis focused too narrowly on the inanimate organizational dimensions and not enough emphasis was placed on the interpersonal dimensions. Consequently, this third hypothesis is rejected for the findings suggest that it is an oversimplification of the way in which teachers experience incongruence with the organization.

Survival Behaviors: The Implications

Adaptive behaviors have been clearly established by this research as occurring in schools as well as in industrial organizations. Can we conclude that they are predictable concomitants to being a member of an organization? If both the fact of survival behaviors, and the particular categories of adaptive behaviors, are universal due to similar properties of organizations as well as of individuals, what are the implications?

It may be that while survival behaviors are universal the consequences are unique to the organizations; that is, some survival behaviors may be more detrimental to one organization than another. Can we have both organizational health and individual health? It appears for the long run functioning of both individuals and organizations, flexibility, autonomy, coping procedures, and growth possibilities are deemed critical. How can this be possible for both the individual and the organization?

Conflict between organizational health and individual health is

apparently inevitable. As schools strive to ensure goal clarity, for example, they impose prepackaged curricula on the teachers. As schools seek autonomy they suppress criticism by teachers and teacher participation in decision-making. As schools urge effective use of resources they urge efficiency at the expense of experimentation.

If conflict between individuals and organizations is inevitable, it must be asked whether such conflict is necessarily disabling. It may be that methods of conflict reduction can be found that are reasonably effective for the individual and are also acceptable to the organization. The particular survival behaviors which teachers in this study chose to gain personal equilibrium, were in many cases costly to the organization, such as lack of cooperation and the goal displacement. Similarly, many of the survival behaviors were disabling to the individual such as apathy and distance from colleagues and limited interpersonal relationships. So too, many of the survival behaviors were disabling to the students, such as lowered standards and aggressive actions of teachers toward students. The implications of these consequences seems to be that schools must find adaptive behaviors which meet teacher needs without crippling them, the students, or the organization.

To be considered also is the possibility that survival techniques are necessary to maintaining organizational health as well as individual health. If teachers could not reduce their tensions created merely by functioning as part of a group, they would have to leave the organization. Long range coping for the organizations and organization goal-achievement would be severely limited with such turnover. If teachers could not adjust to the incongruence between some of their needs and some of the organization's needs, the burden of adjustment might then be shifted to the organization.

Is any organization so equipped to be flexible and responsive to member needs and still achieve its own purposes?

What happens if conflict in organizations is not recognized and survival behaviors are not sanctioned? In the organizations studied there was no overt organizational recognition of individual teacher's problems of adjustment. Teachers experienced anger and increased frustration as a result of being ignored. Survival behaviors were consequently subjected to the multiplier effect, and conflicts escalated which otherwise might have remained minor.

Are there some survival behaviors which are particularly unsuited to schools and their goals? A consideration of the theoretical and observable consequences of survival behaviors indicates that many of them are potentially disabling to the school as an organization.

One of the consequences of conflict was goal-displacement. This displacement was evident when members of the organizations transferred their energies from the aims of the organization to the particular detail of behavior required by the rules. Teachers were aware of such displacement and made comments such as, "Right now, it's impossible to meet student needs because I'm satisfying course requirements."

Another notable consequence of conflict and survival behaviors chosen to deal with it was the dehumanizing of organizational activity. Teachers conformed to heirarchical patterns. They learned to be subordinate to the administrators and department chairmen and taught their students to be subordinate to them. Establishing and playing roles seems at odds with achieving the goals of education which most schools accept.

One widely used survival technique was withdrawal. As teachers sought

distance and disassociation, they reduced their involvement with students and the goals of the organization. Withdrawal also meant severe reduction in communication. Can our schools afford this restrained involvement of teachers?

It is not known what the long range effects of teacher survival behaviors are on schools. Would schools, if it were proved that survival behaviors inhibited effectiveness, be willing to sacrifice the concept of efficiency and redefine effectiveness of the organization? There is some evidence that teacher apathy and disinterest inhibit pursuit of educational goals. Can schools be more flexible and responsive to member needs and still achieve organizational goals? To do so may mean that schools will have to consider alternatives to the present limited intellectual goals of preparation for college and a vocation, and instead humanize organizational goals. If schools share the responsibility for adapting organization demands to member needs, they may find new structures and new organizational forms which would free more teacher energy for educational purposes. How much leeway can be granted to individual members without destroying the organization? Schools should accept the inevitability of adaptive behaviors and encourage behaviors which meet teacher needs and do not have adverse effects on students, teachers, or organizations.

How can teachers and administrators be encouraged to recognize conflict? What are some of the constructive ways of handling conflict? It appears that administrators are not aware of teacher survival behaviors, as such. If they were, what changes would they make in their dealings with teachers? Changes in administrative behavior can affect both teacher behaviors and total organizational functioning. Can the present commitment to change and innovation in schools succeed without considering the organizational mandates

and their effects on teachers? Administrators must learn to read the behaviors of teachers as an indication of the stress teachers are feeling. Only then can they help teachers to understand and adjust to their needs and those of the organization.

It is also important to consider the long range effect of survival behaviors on teachers. There are two reasons for concern about survival behaviors; first, teachers should be able to stay teachers, and second, teachers should be the best teachers they can be. It appears that survival behaviors are necessary to individual health and short run equilibrium. If teachers cannot adapt they cannot stay in their organizations. Potential teachers are not unaware of the problems of adjusting to school demands. Does the press for adapting to schools limit the kinds of persons who will find teaching desirable? What kinds of teachers will stay in teaching? Is there room only for the compliant personality who can adapt to organizational needs? Can schools find room for, even make use of, the teacher who will not adapt to organization demands? It may not be necessary that all teachers adapt if schools forego such ideas as the "teacher proof curriculum" and allow for the unique, the unusual, the unpredictable, the uncompromising personality. Can schools maximize the potential of their teachers as individuals, as "educators", or must conformity and predictability rule and make teachers "functionaries"?

There is some evidence that not all teachers want to be "free". Teachers have to reflect upon the kinds of behaviors they have made habits. Teachers are in many cases unaware of the kinds of habitual safe behaviors they practice, such as seeking distance from their students. It may be that organizational goal attainment as now formulated is not possible without considerable effort spent on recognizing teacher survival behaviors and goal displacement,

and reeducating and freeing teachers for their role.

It is not known what effect teacher survival behaviors have on the teaching/learning transaction. It is not known what awareness students have of the pressures teachers experience and the behaviors they use to adapt to conflict. It may be suspected that students are experiencing similar conflicts and utilizing survival behaviors. What is the quality of the school experience for the students if they are met by teachers who are defensive or apathetic, for example? Ideally, students want to interact with stimulating individuals who will encourage them to fulfill their own potential. Can a teacher who spends much of his time trying to survive in the organization, or who has had to set aside many of his own interests and desires, kindle in a student a spirit of freedom, experimentation, and creativity? What effective teaching is has not been conclusively determined. Adaptive behaviors must be "plugged in" with the other variables in the formula so that the negative impacts of survival techniques can be minimized.

There are some questions about the impact of survival techniques on colleagues which should be considered. Are colleagues aware of teacher survival behaviors and their part in them? Many teachers in this study indicated the importance of colleague relationships but at the same time did not indicate they had established satisfactory relations with their colleagues. What is the potential for eliminating the dependency relationship, the mutual gripe relationship between teachers, and freeing them for more human relationships based on their individual selves, not their teacher roles? What is the effect of colleague relationships on a teacher's performance in the classroom? Colleagues are of survival value to teachers; the relationship has more enriching potential and should be encouraged to develop.

The questions related to teacher survival behaviors are many. The

answers are by no means clear. The implications appear to have serious consequences for schools, teachers, and students. These exploratory findings need to be followed by research which will determine specifically the dynamics of the school organization and teacher behaviors and begin to answer some of the questions raised by this study. Whatever the answers are, one thing is clear -- schools must become places where teachers may seek creative contributions in education, rather than mere survival in the system.

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